

The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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Roosevelt Presses Work-Relief Program

Hopkins' WPA and Ickes' PWA Divide Task of Administering Relief Jobs

ROOSEVELT MAKES DECISION

Light Projects of WPA Will Absorb Men for Winter, Turn Them Over to PWA Next Year

Shall the leading place in the work-relief program be given to the PWA or the WPA? To the uninformed it might appear that there is not much difference between the two; merely an interchange of letters. But the PWA is the initialed form of Public Works Administration, and WPA stands for the Works Progress Administration. Between the two there is quite a difference. There is the further fact that they are under the direction of different men. Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes has charge of the Public Works Administration, and Harry L. Hopkins is in charge of the Works Progress Administration. Mr. Ickes thinks that the major part of the \$4,880,000,000 fund allotted for work relief should be spent by the PWA, while Mr. Hopkins thinks it should be handled by the WPA. But the controversy is not a personal matter. Broad questions of policy are involved. A study of this subject will lead us into a consideration of the whole unemployment relief program of the Roosevelt administration.

A Big Problem

Let us remember in the first place that about 10,000,000 workers are jobless in the United States and that, in spite of business improvements, the number is not decreasing. There is more unemployment in this country today than there was a year ago. Industrial plants are expanding and production is increasing, but the owners of industry are putting labor-saving machinery into their factories. The result is that a given number of men, using the new machines, can produce more than the same number with the old equipment. Manufacturers are able, therefore, to increase production without adding to their labor forces. Many employers are also avoiding an increase of their payrolls by working their men longer hours or by speeding up operations so that their workers will do more per hour than they have been doing. There is a prospect, therefore, that we may have a very serious problem of unemployment even after the economic crisis which we call the depression has passed. It can readily be understood, accordingly, how important it is that the best possible method for caring for the unemployed be adopted.

There are four quite clearly defined policies relative to the care of the unemployed. One view is that the national government need not bother itself about the problem at all. If a man is out of work, it is simply his bad luck. We may be sorry but there is nothing for the government to do about it. It is probably the man's fault. If he wanted work badly enough, he could find it. If he cannot find it he should keep a stiff upper lip, keep his troubles to himself, and not become a public charge. That, it is argued, is the old-fashioned American doctrine of

(Concluded on page 8)



CAN SHE HOLD HIM?

—Punch

The Faith of Democracy

A nation which lives up to its ideals is entitled to a certain amount of respect, and so is an individual. One can admire the consistency and apparent sincerity of the German dictator who expresses his scorn of democracy and his devotion to military despotism and who puts his theories sternly into practice. One can equally admire the consistency of the German people who accept autocratic dictation with zeal and enthusiasm. Dictator Hitler gave expression a few days ago to his political faith: "We do not believe," he said, "in ludicrous, talkative democracy. We are not a chicken farm where everybody runs helter-skelter and everybody cackles. We learn to obey one will, and act in unison in accordance to that will. Every German belongs not to himself but to the nation. We do not evaluate a young man by the number of glasses of beer he can guzzle, but by the punishment he can take; not by the number of nights he can spend cavorting, but by the number of miles he can march." And in conformity with this ideal Germany is arming, training her young men to obey and fight, and to abstain from independent thinking.

Americans, or the more thoughtful of them, will agree with certain of Herr Hitler's conclusions. We in this country do not believe that "guzzling" and "cavorting" are the highest form of behavior. But neither do we accept the Spartan notion that the noblest thing a man can do is to take punishment and fight. We think that our citizens have responsibilities other than to goosestep in obedience to someone's orders. We believe that governmental policies should emanate from the people and that the goal of social action is not the creation and support of a state strong in arms, but the happiness, welfare, and security of men, women, and children. We have as good grounds to resent this former corporal's slur against democracy, wherein he calls a democracy a "chicken farm where everybody runs helter-skelter and everybody cackles," as he does to resent the slur against Nazi principles which came recently from an American judge. We believe that the voice of the people is more than a cackle; it is a mandate of human beings, bent upon their own welfare and the improvement of their condition.

Such is the American faith. But do we put it into practice with the consistency which marks the operations of the German militarists? Do we believe in democracy so intently that we are willing to take some pains in order that it may work well? Are we determined to achieve such a victory for human welfare in this land of ours that skeptics may no longer hold our form of government up to public scorn? We know that we can make democracy effective only by studying the problems which the people must meet. We can best give expression to our faith by acquiring that preparation for citizenship without which democracy is a hollow pretense.

England and France to Support League

Sir Samuel Hoare Declares England Must Uphold Covenant With Sanctions

LEAGUE STIFFENS ATTITUDE

Premier Laval Promises French Aid for Collective Action Against Aggression

Quaint streets of the old Swiss city of Geneva wind up the hillside from the icy, clear waters of its lake. On this waterfront sprawls a building of four high stories, planned in the French manner of the 80's as one of Switzerland's countless tourist hotels, now taken over as the Palace of the League of Nations.

In front of its entrance, a few inches above the waves which lap the old stone quay, American tourists visit a bronze plaque which reads:

To the memory of
WOODROW WILSON
President of the United States,
Founder of the League of Nations.

From the many plate glass windows of this converted hotel, delegates from 58 nations see mirrored in the lake the image of Mont Blanc on the opposite shore—a huge snow-splashed tooth of granite rising sharply from its pine-clothed foothills to scrape against the clear Swiss sky.

Like the vision of peace which brings these delegates to Geneva, this reflected image is often hidden by flying storm clouds. Again, the mirror surface of the lake is shattered by sudden squalls. Yet persistently the image re-forms, emerges, a reminder that the weary world's desire for peace is as permanent and enduring as the great mountain itself—both rising above the little quarrels of men and nations toward the far-away stars.

Following a Vision

Last week in Geneva this vision of the League as a mighty force for peace, transcending the petty interests of nations which compose it, emerged, when delegates from all 58 nations, except Italy, rose to applaud Britain's pledge, given by her slight, silver-haired foreign minister, Sir Samuel Hoare, that his empire's far-flung colonies and dominions and its mighty fleet stood unflinchingly at the service of the League in a peaceful solution of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute, according to international law.

It was a thoroughly British speech. Sir Samuel avoided all those opportunities for melodrama which would have dazzled his Latin colleagues. Like a patient schoolmaster he lectured the delegates on the League's history, aims, and ideals. An astute diplomat, he professed an understanding—even a measured sympathy—for Italian needs and aspirations.

Coming to the climax, his pledge that England stood "for the collective maintenance of the Covenant" and for "steady, collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression," he did not soar to an oratorical peak but, like a firm schoolmaster, shook a gnarled finger at his class and repeated the phrase for emphasis.

(Continued on page 2, column 2)

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The American Dream

STUDENTS of American history should find it interesting and profitable to give considerable attention, throughout the period of their study, to the objectives and aims Americans have had and to the degree to which these aims have been realized. Before the reader has gone far in his study he will find that the people of this land, from the earliest days, have expected great things of it. They have had expectations of great things for themselves. They have looked upon this country, even during those early



DAVID S. MUZZEY

days before it was a nation, as a land of promise. James Truslow Adams, speaking of the earliest colonial settlers in his "Epic of America," says: "If the dreams of the early imperialists had been to create an empire, to singe the beard of the king of Spain and to make a shrewd thrust at the Pope, the hope that now dwelt in the breasts of the individual emigrants of all classes was to escape from conditions overseas and to prosper in a new land. They came from prisons, from hovels, from little farm cottages, from town shops, from country manor houses and rectories, but never from palaces. The aristocracy remained in England, and, with scarcely an exception, the thousands who came were from the middle and lower classes, fleeing from persecution or hard social and economic conditions. These men and women of the first few generations were not frontiersmen, and had no qualities in common with those who later were so important and formative an element in American life. These earliest Americans were laborers, tradesmen, artisans, and such, with a slight sprinkling of moderately well-to-do and educated gentlemen. They were lured in large part by the prospect of owning land, but the land that lured them was that nearest at hand and not in the distant wilderness. They came to make homes."

Again, this author, speaking of that unquenchable hope and purpose which has been a characteristic of Americans as "the American dream," says that it has been a "dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for every man, with opportunity for each according to his ability or achievement. It is a difficult dream for the European upper classes to interpret adequately, and too many of us ourselves have grown weary and mistrustful of it. It is not a dream of motor cars and high wages merely, but a dream of a social order in which each man and each woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they are innately capable, and be recognized by others for what they are, regardless of the fortuitous circumstances of birth or position."

A Hopeful People

The people of this nation, under the spell of their enchanting experience which the historian Adams calls "The American Dream," and which Herbert Croly called "The Promise of American Life," have been sustained by an unconquerable faith in the permanence of progress and the ever-improving lot of the common man. When the hand of adversity has lain heavily upon Americans, and it has lain with harsh and heavy force upon more than a third of them even in our palmiest days, they have consoled themselves with

the thought that better days would come. Days may have been dark for many, but hope has never ceased to play upon her broken strings.

And surely the American people have had reason to dream and hope. They came to occupy a new land, continental in its broad domain, with natural resources amazingly rich, with a varied climate; sparsely settled by a competent population; freed from fettered traditions of older civilizations. It has been indeed a land of wealth and power and opportunity.

The student may read his history of the United States with all this in mind. As he passes from period to period he may inquire to what extent the people have realized their hopes and dreams. Have they been able to use their rich natural resources in such a way as to bring prosperity to all? If not, why not? If there has been poverty and suffering and denial of opportunity, why has there been? What has gone wrong? The student may also inquire as he reads his history whether things might have been done differently from what they were in order that a better result should have followed. American history studied in this way will be more than a recital of fact. It will be more than a meaningless procession of events. It will become a record of experiments wherein a people with a desire for the good things of life have worked to achieve the happiness and security which were their heart's desire. It will be a story of successes and failures, and out of a study of these experiments, the citizen of today may learn something of the policies which should be adopted and of those which should be rejected if his own generation is to move toward the fulfillment of that elusive vision of security and plenty which has been a reality in the minds of Americans from the earliest days of our history.

England and France to Support League

(Continued from page 1, column 4)

The British Empire had spoken. Next day the world, through the electric eyes and ears of its press, focused on France. "Collective resistance," under technicalities of



PIERRE LAVAL AND BARON ALOISI, FRENCH AND ITALIAN DELEGATES TO THE LEAGUE

the League's Covenant, must mean unanimous resistance. Would France render the League powerless by refusing to join Britain's stand?

France Answers

Swarthy, squat little Pierre Laval, premier of France, in somber black, but wearing his inevitable white cotton bow tie, gave his country's answer. Fervently he hoped nothing would mar the Franco-Italian friendship which his country prized so highly. But, "the policy of France is based in its entirety on the League of Nations. Any blow at Geneva would be a blow at our security. Let all realize that there exists no discord between France and Britain. We are all bound by a solidarity which fixes our duty. Our obligations are involved in the Covenant. France will not evade those obligations."

The air was now cleared. Nation after nation rose to pledge itself to the League. There followed a rush to the Assembly's tribune where representatives of Russia, Canada, New Zealand, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic states pledged themselves to support League action, should it come. From far-away Washington Secretary of State Hull again invoked the Kellogg Pact, praised the stand of Sir Samuel Hoare, and plainly intimated that the government of Woodrow Wilson's successor, though not a member of the League, approved of, and might cooperate with the League's economic measures to maintain peace.

Let us consider the legal structure of this League, which is trying at Geneva to save the peace of the world. Its teeth lie rooted in Article XVI of its Covenant, which provides that should a nation resort to war in defiance of the League, it is automatically considered to be at war with the League's other 57 members. Why, then, did the League not listen to China's appeals in 1931, and invoke this clause against Japan when she hacked off Manchuria? To understand this we must raise our eyes from paper technicalities of the League's Covenant, and return to those deeper realities of which the League is only an expression.

A League Failure

In 1931, with the world in the throes of depression, no great power cared enough about the integrity of weak, helpless China to fight in her defense. The Orient was far from Europe. Japan was strong and determined. A cynic once said that a lawyer is someone you hire to show you a safe way to do something you should not do. So smart international lawyers showed the League a legal way to avoid doing what, under its Covenant, was its plain duty. The League, they pointed out, could pretend that there was no war at all. Japan, whose guns were bombarding Shanghai, whose soldiers were crumpling weak Chinese armies and hurling their shattered fragments against China's Great Wall, obligingly assisted this pretense by neglecting to declare war on China.

Four years later a parallel situation has risen between two other League members.—Italy and Ethiopia. What can the League do to prevent this new aggression? The League can do in 1935 what it failed to do in 1931, by methods then as now clearly set forth in its Covenant.

Ethiopia has under Article XV referred the dispute to the League's Council of 14 nations.—France, Britain, Italy, Russia, Poland, Mexico, Czechoslovakia, Argentina, Denmark, Australia, Spain, Chile, Turkey, and Portugal. But Italy, denying her right to do this, claims that Ethiopia, having tolerated slavery among her savage outlying tribes, is not fit for League membership and cannot invoke its protection.



SIR SAMUEL HOARE
British Foreign Secretary

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Should the League wish to avoid action and save its face as it did in 1931, it might expel Ethiopia, thus leaving Italy free to do as she liked. But if the League decides that Ethiopia is entitled to League justice, this Council of 14 nations would consider the claims of both countries.

It could make any recommendation for settling the dispute which seemed just. If this recommendation were unanimously agreed to by all members of the Council not a party to the dispute (which means, in this case, all but Italy), then both Ethiopia and Italy would have to accept it.

Should Italy refuse and go to war with Ethiopia, then under the League Covenant's Article XVI Italy would "be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League," who would then sever "all trade or financial relations" with Italy, and be bound to cut Italy off from all communications—not alone with League members, but with all other countries, "whether members of the League or not."

Force in Reserve

The Council might go further and recommend what "military, naval, or air force" League members "shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenants of the League." Thus the Council might ask Britain's fleet to blockade Italy. It might ask France and Yugoslavia to send armies into the Italian Tyrol. It might ask France to furnish planes,—to blockade, invade, and bomb Italy into compliance with the Council's unanimous order.

But suppose this order were not unanimous. Suppose one of the 13—France for example,—refused to join the other 12 Council members in their decision for Ethiopia and against Italy? Then the League would be powerless. Unless the decision is unanimous, no common action can be taken against a nation which defies the League, and Article XV says vaguely that the other League nations "reserve to themselves the

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AROUND THE WORLD

Germany: The National Socialist party is meeting in congress in the ancient city of Nuremberg, where 20 years ago a small band of Hitler's followers held their first party congress. Since then the Nazi party has grown to heights of power that no one then would have imagined. Without question or reservation, it is the only government in Germany today.

The Nazis emphasized the change by adopting a formal resolution which leaves the Reichstag without even the semblance of power. From now on, the Reichstag



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ADOLF HITLER

will be treated in theory as it has been treated in fact—a body to register the decisions of the National Socialist party. It will retain no deliberative functions. It will originate no laws, and it will not discuss the laws that are presented to it. Instead, it will accept the "leadership" of Chancellor Hitler, abolishing its rules of procedure and ending its long career as an organ of representative government.

Foreigners might look on the subjection of the Reichstag as the most important of Hitler's changes, but the Nazis laid their greatest stress on the campaign for purifying the German race. New laws announced at the party congress provided that: (a) All political rights depend on a "charter of citizenship," which will be issued by the government only to those of "German or racially related blood." (b) All marriages between Jews and German citizens are forbidden and will be punished "by penal servitude or imprisonment." Jews are forbidden to display the German flag, but they may be allowed to show a blue-and-white Jewish flag of their own. Jews will be confined to a separate school system, and, so far as possible, kept to special quarters of their own in the cities. (c) The national flag will be the swastika flag, but Hitler will devise a special "war flag," in which the swastika will replace the present iron cross as a national symbol.

Chancellor Hitler, in his speech to the congress, insisted that Germany would not tolerate any "insults" from other countries, by which he probably meant the recent decision by Magistrate Brodsky of New York City on the *Bremen* disorders, in which the magistrate called the German swastika a "pirate flag." Secretary Hull has already apologized to Germany for this incident. Hitler also laid down an aggressive foreign policy, and although he was careful not to become involved in the dispute between Italy and Ethiopia, his bitterness toward the League of Nations left little doubt that Germany would not cooperate in the League's effort to restrain Mussolini. Finally, the Nazi chancellor entered a virulent protest against the treatment of Germans in Memel by Lithuania. He lashed the League which legalized the handing over of this German district to Lithuania after the war, and hinted of serious developments for the future in this situation.

Greece: Former King George of Greece wants to return to his throne. But during

the past two weeks, while his partisans forced Premier Panayoti Tsaldaris to issue a royalist manifesto and the king's cause was considerably strengthened, George believed that caution was still the order of the day. He will not enter his palace in Athens unless two promises are made. There must be no use of force, and he must be invited to rule by a popular referendum. Only under those conditions will King George come out of his London exile.

Since the World War, when he conducted the Greek peace negotiations with great success, former Premier Eleutherios Venizelos has been Greece's leading politician. Venizelos is closely associated with the idea of a republic, and while the current upturn in monarchist sentiment was in its early stages, much of it was no more than a political weapon against him. But ever since March of this year, when Venizelos was discredited by an unsuccessful uprising against Premier Tsaldaris, the desire for monarchy has been standing on its own legs.

Now it is considered very likely that the referendum will be in George's favor, and will result in a constitutional monarchy for Greece. Only two props remain for the republicans. By and large, emigrants from Greece who work in other countries and send valuable remittances to their Greek relatives oppose the monarchy because they are satisfied with Venizelos' foreign policy. They believe that the wily republican leader gave Greece a place in the sun. And the communists at home, numbering 10 per cent of the population, fear that George's return would result in a wholesale deportation of strike leaders.

Italy: Congress, in the last days of its session, adopted legislation to assure our neutrality in case of an Italian-Ethiopian war. But in the meantime we have been shipping materials of war to one of the belligerents and withholding them from the other. The *Christian Science Monitor* points out the further irony that the materials are going to Italy, which is viewed by most Americans as the aggressor in the conflict, and withheld from Ethiopia, the country with which most American sympathies lie.

All summer our exports to Italy have been increasing. The largest gain is in scrap iron, the material from which most engines of war are made. During the month of July, 1935, 62,169 tons of scrap iron left New York for Italy, as compared with 21,803 tons in July, 1934. The shipments of mules, cotton, airplanes, motor trucks, and tractors are also showing marked gains, and recently 10 old ships were sold to the Italian government, presumably to serve for

the transport of Italian troops and munitions to Africa.

One of the principal reasons for our entry into the World War was the interference to our foreign trade made by the warring nations. The greater the volume of foreign trade, particularly to prospective belligerents, the more difficult it will be to preserve our neutrality when hostilities break out. President Roosevelt sharply scored the "dollar diplomacy" involved in the Standard Oil's Ethiopian concession, and was instrumental in persuading the American company to abandon its plans for bringing American economic interests into the Italo-Ethiopian conflict. Many friends of neutrality believe that similar steps should be taken to supervise the present trade in war materials with Italy. Naturally, the question is a very difficult one, since Italy and Ethiopia have not yet declared war. Outside of behaving prudently, as the President did in discouraging an Ethiopian oil concession during the present period of crisis, the government cannot be expected to act officially until the declaration of an Italo-Ethiopian war, which would provide the first real test of its new neutrality policy.

France: Premier Pierre Laval finds, these days, that he must divide his time between Geneva and Paris almost equally. In Geneva, the whole structure of France's foreign policy is being tested by the heat of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, and, at home, the premier has to keep his party in line to prepare for another test—the meeting of parliament that will decide the fate of the Laval government. Naturally, the right hand must know what the left is doing. Laval's authority to speak for France internationally depends on his strength at home, and his strength at home may depend upon the way he protects French interests at Geneva.

So far as French internal affairs are concerned, Premier Laval is putting up a brave fight to preserve confidence in the value of the franc. The heart of his program is a reduction in government expenditure, and he has already gone a long way in this direction, by cutting pensions and the wages of government employees.

His long-run program, however, is directed toward a revival of French prosperity. During the past two weeks, an important drive has been launched to assist French agriculture. The premier has modeled his scheme on the practice of our own AAA. He has announced that the French government will lend money to farmers so that they will be able to hold their wheat and wine for a better price—the same principle that is behind our own government's loans to farmers. Under this treatment, the prices of wheat and wine are advancing. But in the meantime the Laval government has to face the protests of consumers, who insist that the chief result of this policy is to raise the cost of living, and that it benefits the farmers at the expense of the consumers in the cities. Another problem



© Ewing Galloway

RUE LAFITTE, PARIS

which concerns M. Laval is that of the "stranded" agricultural workers. A great number of French peasants left their farms in favor of jobs in the cities, and with the decline of France's industrial production many of these workers are left without employment. Laval has just set in motion a plan to advance them railroad fare back to their homes.

Whether M. Laval can retain his power when parliament convenes is a difficult question. There is no doubt that his policy of "deflation," cutting down expenditures in an effort to balance the budget and keep the franc on the gold standard, is unpopular in many quarters. A great body of Frenchmen, particularly those who owe money, are in favor of reducing the gold value of the franc. That controversy was the deciding factor in the overthrow of two governments before Laval. When he secured a parliamentary majority and formed a government, he asked, and was granted, "decree" powers to deal with the economic emergency. Those powers are not likely to be continued by parliament. At least two important groups, the fascists, under Colonel de la Rocque, and their enemies, the communists, are expected to make a determined effort to overthrow parliamentary government unless the situation is relieved.

Cuba: The women of Cuba have won two of the privileges traditionally reserved to men, the right to vote and the right to serve in the army. So far they have not exercised the first privilege, but they are now responding eagerly to the government's call for a Woman's Military Reserve. Already 5,000 women are enlisted and are busy making their uniforms, khaki skirts, white shirtwaist and bow tie, with gun belts, army caps, and regulation tan shoes.

What role the Woman's Reserve will play in Cuba's strenuous history is not yet clear. But they have been sworn "to cooperate with the army when the national sovereignty, republican form of government and normal life within the established democratic principles are endangered and in any other case of general interest when called to service by the chief of the constitutional army." To the Women's party, which campaigned successfully for woman suffrage, the answer is not hard to find—Batista, Cuba's military dictator, who is willing enough to use women for his own political warfare, but will not allow women, or men either, to take a part in orderly constitutional government.



A TYPICAL STREET IN ADDIS ABABA

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IT'S ONLY THE BEGINNING, FOLKS!

—Elderman in Washington Post



POLITICAL ADVANTAGE OF A BREATHING SPELL

—Herblock in Emporia Gazette

A Sentimental Journey

President Roosevelt left his home in Hyde Park, last week, for a brief tour of northern New York state. During the course of his trip he was obliged to carry out certain routine presidential duties—the common burden of every occupant of the White House. These included a short speech at the stadium in Lake Placid, dedication of the new White Face Mountain Highway nearby, and inspection of the newly opened spa at Saratoga Springs.

Ordinarily such functions, being part of a President's everyday life, are accepted as necessary evils and discharged with a minimum loss of time. But in this particular case the journey was a sentimental and pleasant one for Mr. Roosevelt. The projects were in his own state; he had been greatly interested in them as governor; and, in part, they represented vindication of policies which he had long supported and pressed. Accordingly, the chief executive was in a genial, expansive frame of mind.

At Lake Placid, particularly, was the Roosevelt smile in evidence. There, he witnessed a demonstration of the work being done by the Civilian Conservation Corps and by branches of the State Conservation Department. What he saw led him to declare that in his judgment the work of the CCC should be "a permanent part of the policy of the United States government," and it led him further, in order to emphasize his interest in the CCC, to tell a story drawn from his own experience 25 years ago as a senator in the New York legislature. He recalled that he had been named chairman of the Forest, Fish and Game Committee, and that he had been anxious to interest the people of New York in the problem of soil erosion. He went on to say:

"I invited the chief forester of the United States, Gifford Pinchot, one of the pioneers of forestry, to come to Albany. We had a session in the Assembly chamber. Gifford Pinchot put two pictures on the screen that did more than anything else to sell conservation to the legislature. One picture was a photograph of an old Chinese painting, dating back to about 1510. It showed a beautiful valley and a walled town which history said had 300,000 inhabitants. Through the valley flowed a beautiful clear stream which obviously was not subject to flood conditions. The mountains were covered with trees. But if you looked closely you saw a streak on the side of one of the mountains. It was a logging chute. These old Chinamen had begun to cut the timber on the mountain side. History indicated that in the next hundred years they had cut off all the trees.

"Then came the second picture, an actual photograph—taken, I think, by Gifford Pinchot himself. It was taken from almost the identical spot from which the picture had been painted 400 years before. The second picture showed a desert—mountains that had rock and nothing else. Down in the valley stood the ruins of the old walled town. I think about 300 people were left trying to eke out a living amid the rocks and ruins. The valley was a mass of rocks and boulders left there by the flooded stream."

This little story, dramatizing the importance of conservation work, gave Mr. Roosevelt a nice opportunity to capitalize on the New Deal's efforts in that direction:

"It was just about three years ago when a certain person entering a political campaign suggested that for the preservation of the forests, the planting of trees and the prevention of soil erosion, and for helping unemployed families, the government ought to take several hundred thousand young men and ask them to go into the forests all over the United States.

"That suggestion was greeted with derision. There was ribald laughter about planting trees, about this crazy dream, this political gesture. Today there are 510,000 young men in CCC camps in every state in the Union, engaged in preserving forests and soils for generations to come. The 'idle dream' has become a fact."

Educating the CCC

Last year, Director Robert Fechner of the Civilian Conservation Corps banned a series of pamphlets, designed as part of the educational program for the CCC because they were too controversial in nature. The most outstanding of these was one called "You and Machines," prepared by Professor William F. Ogburn of the University of Chicago. The pamphlet very simply described the machine age and the problem of technological unemployment.

This year, Director Fechner has approved a new series of "safe" pamphlets. Among the subjects dealt with are: agriculture, automobile repairing, carpentry, cooking, forestry, house wiring, soil conservation, and mechanical drawing. These are to form the basis of the educational program in the CCC.

The pamphlets are to be accompanied by a "Manual for Instructors," giving such pointers as "How to Avoid Dangerous Issues." Under this heading the following suggestions are offered:

"A safe way is, of course, to stay away from dangerous topics. Recognize them early in the discussion, and switch the subject to something of greater interest to the group if possible.

"Another way is to promise to bring the dangerous issue up at some future time. This will make it possible for the instructor to secure additional information before discussing



THE FIRST FAMILY IN AN INFORMAL MOMENT

President Roosevelt is served hot dogs by Mrs. Roosevelt and their son, Franklin D. Jr., at a picnic in Hyde Park. Mr. Roosevelt will soon leave on his western trip.

The Week in the

What the American People



"In my judgment the work of the CCC is doing so much good—not only good for future generations, but good for the present."

it, and it also sets up the possibility of the topic's being forgotten.

"Frankness and honesty will help, and if the case warrants it, the instructor should tell the class that the dangerous issue is not a part of the lesson, and should refuse to discuss it."

The Lost Leader

Hawkers screamed their wares, selling countless bushels of peanuts, gallons of ice cream cones, cases of pop, and hundreds of hot dogs to the shuffling line. Policemen pushed, shoved, ordered, and organized it. Slowly it wound all day through the State House grounds, blinked at the dazzling white marble of Louisiana's \$5,000,000 capitol under the hot noonday sun, mounted the entrance steps and wound through the rotunda to the bier of its lost leader, Senator Huey P. Long.

Solemnly, timidly, often tearfully, they peeped into the open silk-lined casket at the still face of their dictator, clad in a somber tuxedo, white stiff-bosomed shirt, and black batwing tie. At his head and feet a corporal's guard of the R.O.T.C. from his beloved Louisiana State University were stiffly at attention. From the massive open double doors came squares of sunlight and cries of "Peanuts! Popcorn! Crackerjack!" as the 80,000 filed through.

Upstairs in Governor O. K. Allen's air-conditioned office conferred the former errand boy-lieutenants of the dead dictator,—the governor, Lieutenant Governor James Noe, Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, Seymour Weiss (no relative of Assassin Weiss). An unspoken

thought in this group must have been which one would dare to grasp the scepter of the fallen leader, and how skillfully he might wield it. Press rumors flew that Huey Long's lieutenants might abandon their leader's savage war on the New Deal, at least until they had consolidated their ranks.

Next day politics resumed its interrupted sway in Louisiana at the coroner's inquest into the deaths of Senator Long and Dr. Carl Weiss. The facts seemed simple—that Huey Long met his death from one bullet fired by Weiss; that Weiss met his from 15 fired by the Long bodyguard. Yet this inquest became a political field day as questions of anti-Long District Attorney Fred Odum seemed to cast blame on the Long bodyguard for riddling Weiss with bullets instead of holding him for justice, and pro-Long witnesses' answers insinuated that Weiss was only the tool of an anti-Long assassination ring headed by Long enemies in the state.

Meanwhile observers pointed out that Huey Long's death had changed the national political picture by removing thunder on the Roosevelt left. They argued that Long's presidential candidacy might have divided liberals and radicals, allowing a reactionary Republican to slip into the White House.

Permanent Relief?

Has President Roosevelt abandoned his hope that the government can put an end to relief payments next year? In the capital the feeling is more and more that he has, as the realities of the relief situation grow clearer.

Three points face those who still believe that relief will be out of the federal picture by 1936. In the first place, many work projects which have been planned and begun cannot be carried to completion by December 15, 1936, the date set by the President for the expenditure of the \$4,880,000,000 work-relief appropriation. Large additional funds will be required in the next two or three years for the Coulee Dam, the Fort Peck Dam, and the construction program of the TVA. The Florida ship canal, which has been provided with only \$5,000,000 from the present appropriations, cannot be finished for less than \$150,000,000. For all the existing government projects, it is estimated that \$900,000,000 more will have to be voted after the present funds are exhausted.

Even if the government decided to leave these projects unfinished, there is the prediction made last week by President Roosevelt, that even when recovery is complete industry will need only 80 per cent of the 1929 man power, because of technical and mechanical

© Wide World

A black and white photograph showing a long, single-story building with a gabled roof, possibly a barracks or warehouse. The building has several small, dark rectangular openings along its side. In the background, there is a dense line of trees. The foreground is a flat, open area with some patches of grass or dirt.

which improvements in the industrial process. The other 20 per cent will have to be provided by government relief, unless we are much busier in 1936 than we were in 1929. And finally, it is common knowledge that several New Deal agencies, such as the CCC camps and the housing administration, are laying their plans on a permanent basis.

The government's social security program is going ahead, under the leadership of John G. Winant, the young governor of New Hampshire who was called to serve as chairman of the new Social Security Board. Governor Winant put an end to fears that work on the program would have to be delayed until Congress met in January and voted an appropriation for social security. He announced that there was plenty of preliminary work to be done, examining the 35 state laws which have already been passed and must be approved by the government, and encouraging the 13 states which so far have no laws to take prompt action, so that their citizens may share in the benefits of the old-age, infant, and disability benefits.

Until the Social Security Board receives a congressional appropriation, it will work with a skeleton staff. Originally it was to have had \$76,000,000 to spend, beginning the first of October, but the defeat of the third deficiency bill by Senator Long's last-minute filibuster left it without funds. The President has promised Governor Winant, however, a sufficient appropriation for the "paper work" that will have to be done before the government begins to match state payments on the nation-wide security program.

Almost two months ago a small group of Communists boarded the German liner *Bremen*, as she lay in New York harbor, and proceeded to rip off the swastika flag from the bow. When those men came up before Magistrate Louis B. Brodsky for sentence, he dismissed all but one of them. In the course of his decision, the magistrate declared that in the minds of the defendants, the Nazi flag doubtless carried with it, "the same sinister implications as a pirate ship."

The German government, doubly incensed because the magistrate is a Jew, loudly protested, and for the second time within two months, the American government sent a note of official regret to the Nazi régime. Secretary Hull, while pointing out that the government could take no action against the magistrate.



—Sykes in Long Beach Press-Telegram

artificial raising of prices, which will eventually have to be paid by the taxpayers, including the producers themselves. Also they do not think it wise to keep some prices fixed, and others flexible at the same time. No definite stand, however, is taken on the question of continuance of the program. They admit its temporary advantages, but they doubt that as a long-term measure it should be continued unless other compensation steps are taken along with it.

The United States, so long a world granary, may be on the way to importing a part of its wheat. For three years, 1933, 1934, and, according to the monthly report of the Department of Agriculture, 1935, the United States has produced insufficient wheat for its own needs. The 1935 crop of 594,615,000 bushels is larger than that of 1934, which was cut down to a very low level by the accident of the drought, but it is under the average annual consumption of 650,000,000 bushels.

So far we have not had to import any considerable amount of foreign wheat, because of the large carry-over from the bumper crops before 1933. Now, however, the carry-over is reduced to 130,000,000 bushels, which is just about the normal amount held over from one producing season to another. Unless the 1936 crop is unexpectedly large, the Department of Agriculture's figures seem to prove that the government policy of keeping down production to increase the wheat price will have to reckon soon with an almost unheard-of possibility—that the United States may become once more a wheat-importing country.

A further complication was introduced last week into the tangle of Russian-American diplomacy, when the Communist Internationale announced that the speeches on the American situation which were delivered at the Internationale's recent Congress at Moscow will be made into a pamphlet for distribution in this country. These same speeches, one of which



Which, despite the failure of Congress to appropriate funds, has already swung into action. Left to right: Arthur J. Altmeyer, John G. Winant, chairman, and Vincent M. Miles.



—Talburton in Washington News

recommended the support of President Roosevelt in the 1936 election and all of which were considered "unfriendly" by the State Department, were the background of Secretary Huli's vigorous protest to the Soviet government last month.

When the United States recognized Soviet Russia, Maxim Litvinoff pledged that the Russian Communists would grant two conditions. First, there must be no agitation on American soil. Many Americans feel that the existence of the American Communist party, affiliated with the Russian Communists through the Internationale, is a violation of this pledge. The second condition was that the Russians would not tolerate any group on their own soil that was working for a revolution in the United States. The activity of the Comintern Congress obviously violated this pledge, but the Russians claim that the Comintern was, by tacit agreement, excluded from its terms. There is no doubt, however, that if the Russians carry out their plan to distribute in the United States pamphlets dealing with the Congress they will face a renewed, and probably more serious, protest from American officials.

A victory for the government in a legal skirmish over the Guffey coal bill was won in a District of Columbia court only after the defeated plaintiffs charged that the New Deal was delaying a test of that measure whose passage was urged by the President in spite of doubts, "however reasonable," congressmen might have as to its constitutionality.

An assistant district attorney vigorously denied this, but asked that the temporary injunction be not granted because the plaintiffs had ample opportunity for testing the law's constitutionality before November 1, when the Guffey bill's 15 per cent tax goes into effect.

The bill in substance attempts to do legally for the soft coal industry what the United States Supreme Court said was done illegally under the NRA. It allows coal operators to fix prices, and coal miners to fix wages, and imposes a 15 per cent tax on all coal mined by companies who refuse to abide by these fixed wages and fixed prices.

The New Deal bows before the Supreme Court's ruling last summer which stipulates that Congress has no power to fix prices. But it insists that, under the Guffey bill, the coal industry, not Congress, is fixing its own prices, that the tax is only a mild punitive measure to assist the majority of this sick industry in getting cooperation from the minority.

The plaintiff coal companies riddled the bill with five shots as to its constitutionality. They claimed it violated the due process clause, invaded states rights, delegated legislative power, was punishment disguised as taxation, and exceeded congressional power in its price and labor provisions.

Regardless of its constitutionality, all concede that the Guffey bill's passage has averted or postponed a major strike in the coal industry. Labor is asking an increase in wages; coal companies claim they are unable to pay it unless the increased cost can be passed on to the coal users in the form of collectively hiked prices, which under the Guffey bill would be legalized.

Among the New Books

"Marse Lee"

"The Boys' Life of Robert E. Lee,"
by Stanley F. Horn. (Harpers. \$2.)

BECAUSE a biography is brief, well condensed and well written, why should it be tagged "for boys," as though designed to scare off a host of readers who have little time in 1935 for three-volume biographies of dead American heroes, but would welcome such a 300-page book as this. Stanley Horn sketches the early life of this leader of a lost cause, worthy son of a revolutionary hero, and with skillful use of glittering detail takes him from this background of a rich and truly noble southern family through West Point, the Mexican war, the crucial first days of the rebellion, through a dozen brilliant campaigns and several battles which surpass anything achieved by the American armies in the World War, and finally to honorable and honored retirement as president of Washington and Lee University, sadly watching his beloved South struggle in the gloom of reconstruction.

What it was about this courtly, kindly man which made barefooted, half-starved southern armies follow "Marse Lee" cheering into bloody shambles, made them

Allies wanted for reparations. Most have forgotten the plans, then seriously considered, for dismembering her, for the creation of a separate Rhenish state. Yet it is hardly reasonable for us to expect the Germans to forget these things as quickly, as easily, as willingly as we have done.

Heroes All

"Beyond the Sunset," by Elspeth J. Boog-Watson and J. Isabel Carruthers.
(London: Oxford University Press. \$.75.)

THE Greek hero Ulysses announced his intention in Alfred Tennyson's famous poem to "push off . . . and smite the sounding furrows, for my purpose holds to sail beyond the sunset." Since Ulysses' time a growing band of courageous men and women have given their lives in the attempt to sail beyond the sunset and push back the frontiers of human knowledge. This little book tells their stories, from Marco Polo's journey around the tip of South America in the thirteenth century down to the great adventures of our own day. The last of these was the stirring flight over Everest, undertaken by the Marquess of Clydesdale, Flight Lieutenant

McIntyre, and Colonel Blaker, who made the observations from the plane. "Then slowly," Colonel Blaker writes, "the plane began to rise, and came to the summit of Everest, crossing it, as it seemed to me, just a hair's breadth over its menacing summit." The three fliers were 30,000 feet above sea level, and the instruments showed that they had cleared the peak by a scant hundred feet. There is the last of the attempts to penetrate "beyond the sunset," but there are others quite as courageous and exciting, and the authors of this

book have taken particular pains to illustrate their accounts of exploration with helpful pictures.

Hugh S. Johnson

"The Blue Eagle from Egg to Earth,"
by General Hugh S. Johnson. (New York: Doubleday Doran. \$3.)

WITH all the brusque, commanding vigor that kept him in the public eye during his term as administrator of the National Recovery Act, General Hugh Johnson has told the whole story of the Blue Eagle. By now, of course, the Schechter decision has outlawed the NRA and made the interest of this book purely historical, but as history it deserves to rank beside the best studies of the NRA, made by outsiders. General Johnson is still devoted to the idea of the NRA, substituting business coöperation for business competition, and if he were asked about the Schechter decision (which was rendered after his book went to press) he would undoubtedly answer that the trend expressed in the NRA is here to stay, whether the Supreme Court approves it or not.

The general gives a frank account of his leadership of the national recovery forces, and admits that his most serious mistake was made when he failed, through distraction and impatience, from making an issue out of each major departure from his ideas. The story cannot be summarized. It is a tale of conflicting interests, necessary but dangerous haste, and the unwillingness of many labor and industrial groups to fit into the NRA pattern.

Since he feels that "in any public account of a man's stewardship . . . readers are entitled to know that man's background and his training for his task," General



BUILDING A SHIP IN THE 15th CENTURY
From an old print. An illustration in "Beyond the Sunset."

look to him even after defeat for guidance as children to a father, Mr. Horn does not quite catch.

But neither has any other biographer. Perhaps the secret dies with the great hero as the shrill bugles of Manassas, the clattering hoof-beats of Stuart's raid, the thunder of guns at Gettysburg come faintly and yet more faintly to us down the wind.

At Versailles

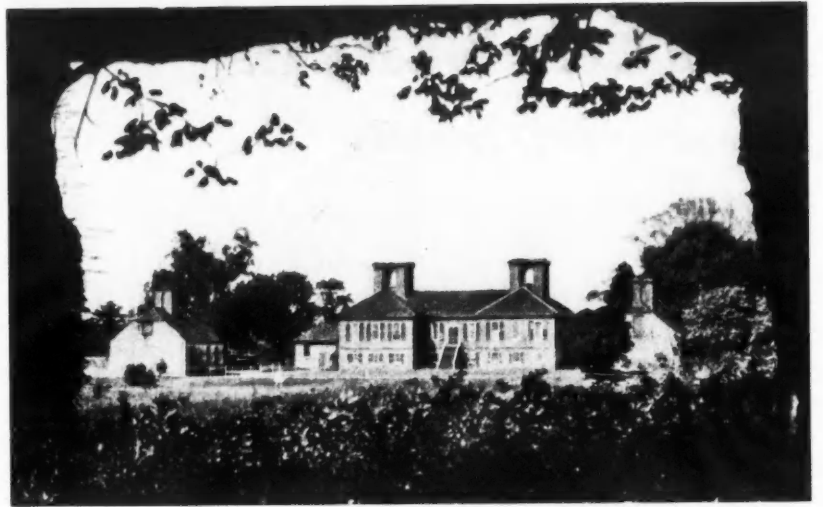
"Policies and Opinions at Paris, 1919,"
by G. Bernard Noble. (Macmillan. \$3.50.)

NOW that the League moves into the foreground of current history, few books could be so pertinent as one which traces the origins of that hope for peace which rose, phoenix-like, out of the flaming war-hatreds of the Versailles Treaty.

The weakness of the League comes from that period, as well as its strength. Like the American Constitution, it was a series of compromises. A still better comparison would be the earlier American Articles of Confederation which the states, after a few years, abandoned as unworkable in favor of a stronger central government.

It is an understatement to say that Woodrow Wilson in 1919 did his best. He did too well, for even in its weakness, its provision calling for unanimity in any important decision, the League was too strong for the militant American nationalism of 1919.

The book also brings a better understanding of the forces which have produced the arrogant nationalism in Central Europe today. Most Americans have forgotten that after the Armistice the Allies for many months would not allow food to enter Germany, fearful that to save her starving children she would spend money which the



—Courtesy Virginia Chamber of Commerce
STRATFORD, BIRTHPLACE OF ROBERT E. LEE

Johnson has prefaced his treatment of the NRA by a loose biographical narrative, running from early homestead days in Oklahoma, through West Point, and into the exciting business and financial career that preceded his entry into public service.

England and France to Support League

(Continued from page 2, column 4)

right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice." This may mean anything or nothing.

So much for what the League can do. Now what will it do? To answer this we must turn again from the paper technicalities of the League's Covenant to present realities of European politics.

The first reality is that no nation wants a war in Africa, except Italy.

The second reality is that still less does any League member want an African war to spread to Europe, which might happen if groups of powers should side for or against Italy.

The third reality is that most European powers—and particularly France—believe that a general European war in the next five years is probable if not inevitable.

The Next War

And France today is thinking, not of Ethiopia, but of how she can maneuver this month to bind powerful allies to herself for the World War which may come around 1940. If she sides with Italy now, she can count on Mussolini's legions to make a flank attack on Hitler's divisions through Austria, diverting some German troops which might otherwise be flung across the Rhine against the newly completed chain of French frontier fortresses. Should she side against Italy, she would probably find Mussolini against her in 1940.

Yet if she supports Italy this month she will grievously offend Britain, whose control of the sea makes her a much more indispensable ally than Italy. Britain, aside from her sentimental reverence for the sanctity of covenants and treaties, is the only League member with anything to lose should Mussolini plant a powerful Italian army and colony in the highlands of East Africa.

First, her control of the Suez Canal, the empire's most vital link, would be threatened. Secondly, the waters of the great inland fresh-water sea of Lake Tsana now flow from Ethiopia into British Sudan and Egypt, transforming a desert into a fertile agricultural valley. Thirdly, British South Africa's General Smuts, who is no alarmist, has warned the British colonial office that an Italian war against Africa's only remaining independent state will rouse natives all over that continent and might lead to a general black uprising. And Britain, with her dominions, controls most of Africa.

Yet Britain probably will not act against Italy unless the League backs her up. The League, in turn, cannot move unless its Council of 14 is unanimous, and this Council includes France. The French, think-

(Concluded on page 8, column 4)

THOUGHTS AND SMILES

Man critical after being knocked down by an automobile—Headline. It's enough to peeve anybody.
—Washington Post

This is the optimistic end of the football season—the one, you know, when the squads rather than the coaches are fired with enthusiasm.
—Boston Herald

I suspect that the root of most evil is not so much love of money as lack of imagination.
—James Branch Cabell

Reports from all over the country indicate that the Republicans are getting tired of riding in the rumble seat.
—LIFE

A scientist says that no one has ever furnished indisputable evidence of being more than 110 years old. Maybe that's just because at 110 years of age most people sense the futility of disputation.
—TRANSCRIPT

Austrian Nazis, forbidden to wear the swastika, have adopted the Hitler mustache as their emblem. That comes pretty near being the supreme sacrifice.
—Ohio State Journal

My theory is to enjoy life, but the practice is against it.
—Charles Lamb

We don't see how Hawaii can get very far with her New Deal with only five letters in her alphabet.
—Philadelphia Enquirer

When 13-year-old Prince Michael was caught smoking a cigarette, it was bad news, but when we were caught, it was just too bad.
—St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The League of Nations seems to have about as much influence as the average American husband.
—Indianapolis Star

Mr. Roosevelt has come out strongly for curiosity in the very young. The next move is to encourage vegetarianism among rabbits.
—Atlanta Constitution

That a million dollars' worth of gum is chewed weekly in the United States looks like an underestimate, no doubt, to the talkie-house janitor.
—Weston Leader

Better to remain silent and be thought a fool than to speak and remove all doubt.
—Abraham Lincoln



"LOOKS LIKE WE'RE HERE FOR A TWO-HOUR STRETCH!"
—From Judge

THESE three imaginary students will meet each week on this page to talk things over. The same characters will continue from week to week. We believe that readers of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER will find it interesting to follow these discussions week by week and thus to become acquainted with the three characters. Needless to say, the views expressed on this page are not to be taken as the opinions of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

Mary: Well, I see that the presidential campaign is about to open. The Republican National Committee is meeting in a few days to make its plans, and President Roosevelt is ready to start on a trip to the West and I suppose he will make a few political speeches. So it appears that politics will be the order of the day from now on. But I am wondering what the big issues will be.

John: Of course there will be a number of big issues. In my opinion, the chief one will be regimentation versus freedom.

Mary: That sounds a little formidable. John. Just what do you mean?

John: I mean that the Roosevelt administration is making rigid rules for everybody. It is forcing the whole nation to fall into line and to obey minute regulations. It tries to tell the businessman how he shall run his business, and it prescribes just how much of everything the farmers shall raise. I was quite impressed by reading what Mark Sullivan had to say about the administration's farm program. He explains the new potato law. No farmer can raise more than five bushels of potatoes without a permit from the government. He has to put them in a certain kind of package to



MARK SULLIVAN

sell them and he is subject to heavy penalty if he violates any of the complicated rules about selling potatoes. How much freedom does a farmer have when he has to live up to laws like that? And yet as Mark Sullivan says, the government won't stop with potatoes. It will go ahead and control all kinds of crops and all kinds of production. Then we won't have much freedom left. Undoubtedly the Republicans will take that issue up and demand freedom instead of regimentation.

Mary: I wonder if they will. I wonder if they'll come out very strongly against potato regulation or against any of the rest of the work of the AAA. My impression is that the Republicans, especially in the West, are inclined to shy away from the farm question. They want to carry the farm states, and yet most of the farmers are more interested in making money than they are in being free from governmental regulation. And they are making more money than they made during the Hoover administration.

John: I think it possible that the Republicans may have some trouble agreeing over certain features of the AAA. But there is little doubt in my mind but that they will come out against all these regulations. They will stand for liberty.

Mary: It strikes me that in all this talk about freedom and regimentation you and others like you are making mountains out of molehills. This matter of regimentation is a question of degree. All laws restrict people's freedom and some of them are annoying at times. Traffic regulations are. One's freedom is considerably hampered when he drives an auto down the street. He has to stop for red lights, and has to keep on the lookout all the time to see that he doesn't violate any of the many restrictions. Yet people put up with these



Regimentation versus Freedom. Is the New Deal tending in the direction of socialism? What part will this issue play in next year's election.

annoyances because they think it is better for everyone in general for the roads and streets to be relatively safe. Now if you wanted to, you could get up and shout about people's being deprived of liberty because they have to stop for red lights and submit to regulations about how they shall turn a corner. You might ask what life is worth if one can't turn any kind of corner that he wants to. Yet we'd rather be regulated that way if we can avoid many accidents by doing so. It's the same thing about restrictions on production and wages. If these restrictions will result in better prices for farmers and more decent living conditions for laborers, it's worth a little loss of individual liberty. I'll admit that regulation and regimentation, if carried to extremes, may become tyranny, but liberty, if carried on to extremes, becomes anarchy, and it seems to me that the Roosevelt administration is striking a fairly good balance between the two.

John: I think you take the regulations which are being imposed by the Roosevelt administration too lightly. You see merely what has already been done. Well, these are only steps to what may be done. Take the case of agricultural restriction, for example. The administration started out to regulate the production of wheat and cotton and a few other crops. Then it found out that if the farmers cut their production of these things they would raise other crops instead, and raise them to excess. So the government had to step in and regulate the other crops too. It's kept going on and on and it will go further. After a while it will be fixing the quantity of production of all crops and fixing the prices of all farm crops. It will have to do it, once it starts in that direction. It will be obliged also, once it starts to regulate industry, to impose all kinds of restrictions. Then after a while we'll have what the New Dealers call a planned economy, but, as a matter of fact, it will be socialism. Now if you want socialism, I suppose you have a right to have it, but at least you should go after it with your eyes open. Let the people who vote for Roosevelt know that they are voting for socialism. I doubt whether many people understand just what all this talk about a planned economy means.

Charles: Well, to tell you the truth about it, John. I question whether you understand all about it yourself. At least I doubt whether you have a very comprehensive notion of what freedom means. You say that people should have freedom; they

should have liberty. You seem to think that they would have it if the government just kept its hands off and didn't pass any laws regulating business. But what is freedom if it isn't the right and ability to do what one most wants to do. Now I take it that the thing people most want to do is to go out and earn their living and make a livelihood for themselves and their families. There isn't any law against one's having a job and so I suppose you'd say he had freedom. But what does his freedom amount to if he can't find a job? It isn't effective freedom. It isn't liberty that's worth a cent. Burke said one time that a right without the power to enforce it is nugatory and idle. So is freedom without the power to exercise it. You object because the administration is curtailing certain legal rights of farmers and corporations. You object because it is imposing laws or tries to impose laws which interfere with the liberty of an employer to pay whatever wages he sees fit. But what if those laws give to masses of men the right and the ability to earn decent livings?

John: Do you think that the administration has given people that right and that power?

Charles: I didn't say that it had. I'm not defending the administration. But I will answer your question and say, no. I don't think it has done much for real human liberty. But neither have the Republicans. They aren't even interested in real liberty and real freedom. They are interested only in preventing laws which interfere with the privileges of the few. I would like to see the government plan a great deal more than it does. I would like to see it arrange the economic life so that everybody could have jobs at fair wages. Then people couldn't do just as they please. We wouldn't have anarchy. But people would have more real liberty than they have now. You talk about regimentation; about forcing all the people to go along in the same groove. There isn't any regimentation like the regimentation of poverty which makes the whole mass of people act alike and live alike. It deprives them all of their essential liberty.

John: So you're a socialist, are you?

Charles: I am not particularly interested in labels. I am for governmental planning and I am for giving every man a job. If you want to call that socialism, all right. At least I am not a Republican and I am not particularly enthusiastic over what the Roosevelt administration is doing, although I am inclined to favor it whenever I hear people talk against it as you have been doing.

John: Well, if you are a socialist you ought to be very friendly to President Roosevelt because he is going straight in the direction of socialism. I am surprised that you aren't satisfied with the progress he has been making.

Mary: I don't agree with you at all. As a matter of fact, the administration has done very little regimenting. It isn't making very many important changes. The changes it is making are in the right direction, I think. It is not destroying private initiative, but is merely regulating business and farming as much as it is necessary to regulate them so that they may be conducted in an orderly way. The President is correcting abuses in the capitalist system, but he isn't trying to overthrow it.

John: You certainly are complacent. **Mary:** rather too much so. I think. Certainly many people who have given careful

thought to the trend of things believe that freedom is threatened in a real and serious way. Many people have a genuine fear of what is going on.

Charles: I suppose a few people have a real fear—a fear of losing some of their privileges. They are the ones who are squawking. You don't hear much complaint from farmers and workers and the mass of the people.

John: Unless I miss my guess, there will be more of what you call "squawking" a year from November. There was quite a little in Rhode Island last month, if I remember correctly.

Charles: Well, John, I think you are



JACK AND HIS BEANSTALK

—Carmack in Christian Science Monitor

seeing things. Let's go down to the drug store for a soda. It will do you good to cool off a bit.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. Are any work-relief projects being carried on in your community? If so, do they come under the PWA or the WPA?

2. With which of the four views regarding unemployment relief are you most in agreement?

3. Why does it seem probable that we may have a serious unemployment problem for a long time?

4. If you lived in Great Britain what position would you want your government to take relative to Italian aggression against Ethiopia? What would you want your government to do if you were a Frenchman?

5. What provision of the League of Nations Covenant authorizes member nations to take action against an aggressor?

6. What are "sanctions"?

7. If sanctions are invoked against Italy, how would the United States be affected? What course should our government take?

8. What is meant by "regimentation"?

9. In what specific ways can it be argued that the Roosevelt administration is depriving the American people of liberty? How may it be argued that, by these acts, the administration is giving the people more liberty? With which position do you agree?

10. In forming your political judgments are you sure you base your conclusions on independent study of the facts, or are you influenced by prejudice and emotion?

11. What is meant by the term, "The American Dream"?

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PRONUNCIATIONS: Nuremberg (new'rem-berg—er as in bare), Venizelos (ven-e-zay'los—e as in me, o as in low), Tsaldaris (tsahldahr'is), Laval (lah-vahl'), Batista (bah-tees'tah), Francois de la Rocque (frahn-swah' duh, u as in burn, lah rok' as in go).



"WATCH YOUR STEP!"

—Sykes in Boston Evening Transcript

Administration Acts to Speed Its Work-Relief Program

(Concluded from page 1)

"rugged individualism"—let each individual look out for himself. If he actually must have help to keep his family from starving, let help be given either by private charity or by the local government, the county or the city. This view was quite popular a few years ago, but now it is not held by many intelligent or responsible people. Not long ago, a manufacturer gained quite a little publicity by saying that he would not employ a man who had ever accepted public relief. But not many are so ignorant or so "hard-boiled" as to advocate such a course. It has come to be rather generally recognized that unemployment often results from social causes over which individuals have no control. In this case the responsibility of society for relief is admitted. It is a definite change in public policy.

For Direct Relief

Another view is that aid should be given to the needy unemployed, that it should preferably be given by the local communities, but that when the task is too great for them, assistance should be rendered by the national government. This assistance should not, however, take the form of work relief. When the national government is obliged to help the unemployed, it should do so in the least expensive way, and that is by supplying food and other necessities. If this method is pursued, all the money which the government contributes will go to the actual relief of the needy. If the government undertakes to make work for the unemployed, it must spend part of the money for materials and equipment. Suppose, for example, that those in authority have \$1,000,000 with which to relieve distress. If they give the money outright as a dole, the whole million will go for supplies to be distributed among the needy. If, however, they build a bridge in order to give the unemployed work, they will pay out only a part of the million dollars in wages to the needy. The rest will be spent for steel and other materials. The government cannot afford expensive forms of relief, it is argued, because the national debt is mounting threateningly. Expenses should be curtailed, and

the government could take care of those in distress with less money if it resorted to the dole and did not undertake a public works program.

A good many people hold to the position which we have just described. This is the view most frequently advocated by Republican critics of the Roosevelt administration. It seems quite likely that it will be adopted by that party in the next campaign, and that an issue will develop over work relief.

Case for Work Relief

The Roosevelt administration has adopted a work-relief program. It has, indeed, granted direct relief. In fact, it was after Mr. Roosevelt became president that the federal government went into the business of distributing necessities to the unemployed, or of paying them a dole. But the President is trying to give up direct relief. He and his followers say that it has a very bad moral influence over a man if he is long without work. It breaks his spirit, and takes from him that which makes life worth while. It should be the duty of the government not merely to give bread to the hungry, but to provide means whereby its citizens may lead normal, useful lives. If private industry cannot give work at all; if it leaves millions under conditions which bring about their ruin, then the government should step in and alter the conditions. It should carry on a public works program which will give employment to the jobless.

It is argued further that in the long run work relief is not more expensive than direct relief. In the case of the bridge which was mentioned a while ago, work-relief advocates would not give wages to as many men as might have received relief if the bridge had not been built. It is true, they would say, that part of the money must be spent for materials. But, they continue, when the government buys the materials it stimulates the industries producing the materials. These industries may then be obliged to hire more men. It is said that for every man who gets a job directly in work-relief projects, another will get a job indirectly. Either he will be employed in producing the material used in the project or in transporting it, or he will find work somewhere along the line.

So the Roosevelt administration has gone in for work relief. Last winter Congress appropriated \$4,880,000,000 to be used for that purpose. The President said the government would start projects of various sorts and would furnish work directly to 3,500,000 men. It was figured that an equal number would find work indirectly because of the government's operations. That would be 7,000,000. It was estimated that the other 3,000,000 could be taken care of by the local communities. Most of them were unemployable anyway, it was said, as they were either too old to work, or ill or crippled or in some other way incapacitated.

PWA and WPA

We have mentioned the different views regarding the relief of the unemployed. But the last one divides into two and becomes the third and fourth. The first of these is the program of the Public Works Administration, the PWA. According to this plan the government is to engage in the construction of substantial and useful public works. Among such projects are canal docks, airport buildings, tunnels, bridges, terminals, water supply systems, schools, univer-



WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION OFFICES IN WASHINGTON

A flood of applications for money from the work-relief fund has made this the busiest of New Deal divisions.

sity buildings, hospitals, markets, town halls, and so on. In addition, slums are to be cleared away and low-cost sanitary houses erected. The idea is that these works will: (a) give employment, (b) stimulate the construction industries, and (c) give to the communities of the nation permanent improvements, and better houses to the poor people.

This is the work that has been placed in the hands of Secretary Ickes, and at first it was intended that most of the work relief should be along this line. But when the actual planning got under way, it was found that it took a great deal of time to put such projects actually into operation. It took time to plan a school or a hospital or a slum-clearance program. It took more time to let the contracts and to start work. Furthermore, many of these projects required the purchase of great quantities of materials. If all the \$4,880,000,000 fund were spent for these projects, so much of it would go for materials that there would not be enough left for wages—not enough, that is, for the living wages of 3,500,000 men. And the President wanted to put that number to work. If 3,500,000 men were to be given work and were to be paid from a fund of \$4,880,000,000 there would be but about \$1,100 per man available. It seemed necessary, therefore, that care be taken not to spend too much for materials. The more that was spent for materials, the less there would be for the 3,500,000 men.

It was decided, therefore, that a part of the fund should be spent on work which could be undertaken without much preliminary planning, which could be started at once and would not require the use of many materials. Examples of such projects are work on parks and playgrounds, the building of small dams and ditches, landscaping, building of swimming pools, the laying of sidewalks, and so on. These undertakings are in the hands of the Works Progress Administration, presided over by Mr. Hopkins. All projects costing over \$25,000 come under the PWA, while those costing less are under the WPA.

In planning the use of the work-relief fund a difference of opinion developed between Mr. Ickes and Mr. Hopkins as to the division between the PWA and the WPA. Both agreed that something should be done by each division, but there has been, and still is, a dispute as to the emphasis. Mr. Ickes would have most of the activity centered around the larger, slower, costlier projects on the ground that they will do the communities more good and will stimulate private industries which supply materials. Mr. Hopkins would have the small, cheap projects which can be carried on in a hurry favored because he thinks there is immediate need of getting a large number of men at work.

President Roosevelt has decided upon a compromise. The little jobs, like park work and street repairing, the work of the WPA, will be rushed this fall and winter. Hundreds of thousands of men will be put to work at jobs similar to those performed two years ago by the CWA. Then by next spring it is hoped that the larger and more substantial PWA projects can be going in sufficient

number to take over many of the unemployed. Then it is planned that thousands of workers will be shifted from WPA to PWA. In the PWA work, emphasis is to be placed upon low-cost housing and slum clearance. The administration has long been interested in housing, but it has been hard to get housing projects ready for actual work.

We may, therefore, expect a great deal of WPA activity soon. The President is anxious for speed, for the work-relief program has lagged. The original plan was that the 3,500,000 should be at work by November 1. At the first of September only about 837,000 were at work. Of this number, 519,000 were in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), 248,000 were employed in small, local projects, and 70,000 had found jobs in the larger projects of the PWA.

ITALY AND THE LEAGUE

(Concluded from page 6, column 3)

ing of 1940, will do much to avoid offending Italy. But in a final showdown they will stand by England, provided, however, that they can wrest from her a much more definite pledge of aid against Germany than they have so far obtained.

France remembers that the sanctity of the Versailles Treaty, including that provision which forbade Germany to rearm, was also guaranteed by the League. France remembers that when Germany denounced this provision last year, England, instead of joining France in protest, secretly secured from Hitler a pledge limiting his navy to one-third the size of England's fleet, and left France to shift for herself, facing a re-forming German army of unlimited size.

So France fails to see how a treaty guaranteeing the security of Ethiopia is any more sacred than that of Versailles, which guaranteed security to France. But if her sentimental neighbor across the channel (with important interests in East Africa) feels strongly in the matter, France is open-minded and will listen to reason—for a consideration, of course.

It will be remembered in the present crisis that stocky, swart Pierre Laval is the son of one of the most astute horse-traders in Auvergne, a fact which eminently equips him to follow in the grand tradition of French diplomats—Louis XI, Mazarin, Richelieu and Talleyrand.

And now what of America? Again, as in 1931 our State Department admonishes the disputants of their solemn obligations under the Kellogg Pact, and Secretary Hull has voiced strong approval of the League's actions to date. But our only connection with the League is an unofficial observer in Geneva and that bronze plaque to the memory of the man who would have taken his country further into co-operation with the world than the United States Senate was willing to go.

If the League invokes sanctions against Mussolini and in effect declares a world war and blockade against Italy, will America cooperate, or will she insist on her rights to a new and strange neutrality? —W. L. W.



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PWA WORKERS